

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

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MBFR-04 SAJ-01 H-03 SS-15 NSC-10 EB-11 ACDA-19 DRC-01

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R 121724Z SEP 73

FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8645

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

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AMEMBASSY ROME

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USNMR SHAPE

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CORRECTED COPY (PARA 3)

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR NATO BE

SUBJECT: ATLANTIC TREATY ASSOCIATION MEETING IN BRUSSELS

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1. SUMMARY: THE 19TH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE ATLANTIC TREATY

ASSOCIATION HELD ITS INAUGURAL PLENARY SESSION ON SEPTEMBER 10 UNDER THE CHARIEMANSHIP OF FORMER US UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE EUGENE V. ROSTOW AND WITH THE THEME "THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, INDISPENSABLE BASIS FOR SECURITY AND DETENTE". THE ATA HEARD MESSAGES SENT BY PRESIDENT NIXON AND DR. KISSINGER AND ADDRESSES MADE BY ROSTOW, ELDER BELGIAN AND EC STATESMAN JEAN REY, BELGIAN PRIME MINISTER LEBURTON, BELGIAN NATO PERMREP DE STAERCKE, NATO SYG LUNS AND NATO MILITARY COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN STEINHOFF. COMMITTEE REPORTS WERE PUBLISHED UNDER THE NAMES OF RAPORTEURS DAVIGNON (BELGIAN POLITICAL DIRECTOR), JOHAN HOLST (RESEARCH DIRECTOR AT THE NORWEGIAN INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS) AND JOHN CARSON (ATLANTIC COUNCIL OF CANADA). THEME OF ATLANTIC AND NATO SOLIDARITY RAN THROUGHOUT THE DAYS PRESENTATIONS, WHICH ALSO CONTAINED SIGNIFICANT COMMENTARY ON BURDENSARING AND US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS AND MUTUAL SUSPICIONS. BELGIAN VIEWS ON THESE MATTERS WERE EXPOSED THANKS TO THE COMPOSITION OF THE LIST OF SPEAKERS. THERE FOLLOW PARAPHRASED OR QUOTED PORTIONS BELIEVED TO BE OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO ADDRESSEES. END SUMMARY.

2. ROSTOW READ MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT NIXON AND SECRETARY-DESIGNATE KISSINGER, IN WHICH THE PRESIDENT PLEDGED A CONTINUED US COMMITMENT TO THE ALLIANCE AND EXPRESSED THE EXPECTATION THAT EACH OF OUR ALLIES WILL ASSUME ITS SHARE OF THE COMMON DEFENSE BURDEN. DR. KISSINGER REGRETTED HIS ABSENCE FROM THE ATA MEETING AND CITED THE ADMINISTRATIONS'S DEEP COMMITMENT TO ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP. ROSTOW ADDED, "I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT BOTH PRESIDENT NIXON AND MR. KISSINGER... VIEW THE ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP AS THE ROCK ON WHICH THE SYSTEM OF PEACE IS NECESSARILY FOUNDED".

3. ROSTOW RELATED THE BURDENSARING ISSUE TO ATLANTIC RELATIONS IN OTHERAREAS IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER: "...SECURITY DECISIONS SHOULD BE MADE ONLY ON SECURITY GROUNDS. THE DEPLOYMENT OF TROOPS, AND THE PROCUREMENT OF EQUIPMENT, SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO HAVE NO EFFECT WHATEVER ON THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS OF ANY COUNTRY. EACH ALLY SHOULD SUPPLY THE RESOURCES FROM HIS COUNTRY NEEDED IN THE COMMON CAUSE. WE SHOULD HAVE SOLVED THIS PROBLEM AT LEAST TEN YEARS AGO, WHEN THE DOLLAR SHORTAGE OF THE EARLY POST-WAR PERIOD BECAME THE DOLLAR OVERHANG. I UNCLASSIFIED

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CAN THINK OF NO SINGLE STEP THAT WOULD BE MORE HELPFUL IN CLEARING THE POLITICAL AIR ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC THAN A EUROPEAN INITIATIVE TO TAKE THE DOLLAR SIGN OUT OF OUR SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS.SUCH A PROPOSAL WOULD BE WARMLY WELCOMED BY AMERICANS OF EVERY SHADE OF OPINION. IT WOULD HELP TO IMPROVE THE CLIMATE AFFECTING EVERY OTHER SUBJECT ON THE AGENDA. AND IT WOULD PREPARE THE WAY FOR WHAT I REGARD AS THE INDISPENSABLE STEP OF CONSOLIDATING THE MONETARY SYSTEMS OF THE KEY NATIONS INTO A

NEW PATTERN OF JOINT MANAGEMENT FOR THEIR RESERVE ASSETS, AND  
THUS FOR A CLOSELY COORDINATED-AND INDEED CONCERTED-MONETARY  
POLICY."

4. REFERRING TO KISSINGER'S APRIL 23 PROPOSALS, ROSTOW SAID  
THE FOLLOWING: "MR. KISSINGER'S SPEECH HAS BEEN MISUNDERSTOOD,  
BOTH IN EUROPE AND IN THE UNITED STATES. IT DID NOT PROPOSE A  
MODIFICATION OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY, OR A DILUTION OF  
THE AMERICAN SECURITY GUARANTY TO ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES. NOR  
DID IT PROPOSE A CONFUSION OF SECURITY PROBLEMS AND ECONOMIC  
PROBLEMS. WHAT MR. KISSINGER DID PROPOSE WAS SOMETHING  
QUITE DIFFERENT-AN IDEA WHICH I BELIEVE AN OVERWHELMING  
MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE UNDERSTAND AND SUPPORT, AND  
ONE WHICH, SO FAR AS I CAN SEE, SHOULD BE EQUALLY APPEALING  
TO EUROPEAN OPINION. THE IDEA IS SIMPLE, BUT NOT EASY. IT  
IS THAT OF SHARED RESPONSIBILITY."

5. PRIME MINISTER LEBURTON SAID THAT BELGIUM'S GEOGRAPHICAL,  
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION DICTATES ITS SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN  
INTEGRATION AND FOR WESTERN DEFENSE IN THE NATO FRAMEWORK,  
AND HE NOTED THAT EUROPEAN AND ATLANTIC ORGANIZATIONAL TIES  
GIVE BELGIUM THE OPPORTUNITY TO INFLUENCE IMPORTANT DECISIONS.  
REMARKING THAT BELGIUM HAS PLAYED A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN THE  
DETENTE PROCESS, LEBURTON ADDED THAT THE ALLIANCE, IN THE  
INTERESTS OF MAINTAINING ITS COHESION, MUST EXAMINE THE

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R 121724Z SEP 73

FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8646

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

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DETENTE ISSUE CAREFULLY. FINALLY, LEBURTON ANNOUNCED THAT BELGIUM WAS RETHINKING THE WHOLE QUESTION OF OBLIGATORY MILITARY SERVICE AND WOULD CONSULT "FRIENDLY COUNTRIES" ON PROPOSALS TO BE MADE (SEE BRUSSELS 5168 NOTAL).

6. AMBASSADOR DE STAERCKE SPOKE OF THE STRAINS THAT THREATEN  
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TO CREATE DIVISIVENESS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE: "THEN THERE IS THE UNITED STATES POLICY IN ASIS WHICH EUROPE FINDS HARD TO UNDERSTAND AND WHICH SHE JUDGES ACCORDING TO CRITERIA WHICH SHE WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY NOT HAVE PERMITTED TO BE APPLIED TO HERSELF, WITH THE RESULT THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS A SENSE OF ABANDONMENT. THEN THERE IS THE BLOSSOMING OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY DESIRED AND SUPPORTED BY THE UNITED STATES, BUT THE INCREDIBLE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNITY, LIKE THE PROSPERITY OF JAPAN, CREATES PROBLEMS OF COMPETITION FOR THE UNITED STATES WHICH SHE FEELS MUCH MORE THAN SHE WOULD EITHER HAVE WANTED OR EXPECTED, THEN THERE IS THE FINANCIAL POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES IN WHICH THE DOLLAR, A PIVOT OF INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE, BECOMES BY ITS INCONVERTIBILITY THE LAST WORD OF A NATIONAL POLICY.... MANY OF THE ALLIES HAVE TRIED TO BUILD UP RELATIONS WITH RUSSIAN AND THE EAST IN THE INTERESTS OF WORLD PEACE. BUT THE UNITED STATES HAS SUCCEEDED MORE THAN THE OTHERS BECAUSE SHE IS THE BIGGEST AND THE RUSSIANS GIVE HER PREFERENCE. THAT HAS BEEN SUFFICIENT TO ACCUSE HER OF PLAYING A SEPARATE GAME BECAUSE IT WAS TOO BILATERAL. THEN THERE HAS BEEN THE WEARINESS OF THE DEFENSE EFFORT; THE WEARINESS OF THE GREATEST POWER HAS ARISEN BECAUSE IT CONSIDERS THAT IT HAS DONE TOO MUCH AND IS NOT RECOMPENSED WHEN IT FINDS ITSELF IN DIFFICULTY; CERTAIN OTHERS ARE WEARY

BECAUSE THEY CONSIDER THAT IT HAS ALL BEEN IN VAIN, THAT THEY WILL NEVER BE ABLE TO MAKE THEIR GREATEST ALLY CONTENT AND THAT PERHAPS PEACE COULD HAVE BEEN OBTAINED JUST THE SAME BUT AT A CHEAPER PRICE. AND THEN THERE IS FOLLOWING FROM THAT THE SWORD OF DAMOCLES OF A PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN FORCES IN EUROPE WITHOUT THE LATTER BEING READY OR ABLE TO FILL THE GAP, WHENCE A CERTAIN FEELING OF ABANDONMENT."

7. SYG LUNS REMARKED THAT THE IMPROVED EAST-WEST CLIMATE AND THE STRIDES MADE BY WESTERN EUROPE SINCE WORLD WAR II COMBINED TO MAKE A GREATER EFFORT REQUIRED ON THE PART OF THOSE WHO DESIRE TO TIGHTEN US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS. HE APPEALED FOR CLOSE CONSULTATIONS IN NATO ON EAST-WEST MATTERS BUT PARTICULARLY ON MBFR AND INITIATIVES INVOLVING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. LUNS' CENTRAL POINT HERE WAS THAT THERE MUST BE COMPLETE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE BETWEEN THE US AND EUROPE. TURNING TO BURDENSARING, LUNS SAID THAT EUROPE MUST MAKE A GREATER CONTRIBUTION. NOTING, HOWEVER, THAT NON-NUCLEAR STATES HAD UNCLASSIFIED

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AGREED TO REMAIN SO AS A RESULT OF THE NONPROLIFERATION TREATY, LUNS SAID THAT FOR THE US, "THE STATUS AND PRIVILEGES OF BEING A NUCLEAR SUPER-POWER WILL CONTINUE FOR A LONG TIME TO INVOLVE A PRICE IN THE FORM OF A RELATIVELY HIGHER PROPORTIONAL SHARE OF THE COST OF NORTH ATLANTIC DEFENSE."

8. GENERAL STEINHOFF CLAIMED THAT THE CURRENT RUSH TOWARD DETENTE PLUS SOVIET MILITARY SUPERIORITY ADDED UP TO A "GLOOMY PICTURE OF NATO'S PROBLEMS", BUT ONE THAT CAN BE BRIGHTEN BY AN INCREASE AND TIGHTENING OF WESTERN COOPERATION AND AN EXAMINATION OF THE "DISTURBING HETEROGENEITY" OF ALLIED MILITARY HARDWARE.

9. DAVIGNON'S POLITICAL-ECONOMIC REPORT CONTAINED THE FOLLOWING PASSAGE ON BURDENSARING: "SINCE THE ALLIANCE BEGAN, DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN TAKING PLACE ON WHETHER EACH ALLY IS MAKING A FAIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE JOINT DEFENSE EFFORT AND WHETHER THE DISTRIBUTION OF BURDENS SHOULD NOT BE REVIEWED. DISCUSSIONS ARE AT PRESENT TAKING PLACE CONCERNING THIS BURDENSARING. CONCRETE RESULTS CAN DOUBTLESS BE EXPECTED FROM THEM IF A BEGINNING IS MADE BY RECOGNIZING THAT THE JOINT EFFORT OF THE ALLIES CORRESPONDS TO THE INTERESTS OF EACH OF THEM. THE PRESENCE IN EUROPE OF THE AMERICAN FORCES IS AN ELEMENT IN THE MILITARY STRATEGY OF THE UNITED STATES JUST AS IT IS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE COLLECTIVE EFFORT OF NATO. THESE TROOPS ARE IN EUROPE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES AND FOR THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE. THIS PRINCIPLE ONCE LAID DOWN, SHOULD THE SHARING OF BURDENS BE ANALYZED AT REGULAR INTERVALS? OF COURSE, AND IT IS MOREOVER FROM THIS ANGLE THAT THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, THREE YEARS AGO, SET UP THE EDIP ARRANGEMENT BY WHICH THEY HAVE

CONTRIBUTED UNAIDED TO A 420 MILLION DOLLAR PROGRAM SPREAD  
OVER FIVE YEARS. TODAY, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE SITUATION OF  
THE UNITED STATES PAYMENTS BALANCE, IT IS APPROPRIATE TO EXAMINE  
WHETHER AN EFFORT SHOULD NOT BE MADE TO SCRUTINIZE AND LOOK  
FOR SOLUTIONS TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTION: WHAT IMPLICATIONS HAS  
THE PRESENCE OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN EUROPE FOR THE BALANCE OF  
PAYMENTS? IN ADDITION TO THE REMEDIES APPLIED HITHERTO,  
SHOULD SUPPLEMENTARY ONES BE SOUGHT FOR? IT SEEMS TO US THAT,  
ONCE THE INDIVISIBILITY OF DEFENSE IS REAFFIRMED AND THE BENEFICIAL  
CONSEQUENCES FOR ALL THE ALLIES OF THE PRESENCE OF AMERICAN  
TROOPS IN EUROPE RECOGNIZED, THESE TWO QUESTIONS SHOULD BE  
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ANSWERED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE."

10. DAVIGNON'S REPORT ALSO DEALS WITH THE PROSPECTS FOR ATLANTIC  
RELATIONS AND PRESIDENT NIXON'S VISIT AS FOLLOWS: "IT IS NOW  
DOUBTLESS APPROPRIATE TO DIRECT ATTENTION TO THE RELATIONS WHICH  
THE ALLIES MAINTAIN WITH EACH OTHER. ALL THE ALLIES COULD:

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R 121724Z SEP 73

FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8647

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

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AMEMBASSY OSLO  
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A. REAFFIRM THE OBJECTIVES OF THE ALLIANCE SUCH AS THEY ARE  
DEFINED TODAY;

B. CONFIRM IN THE FIELD OF THEIR SECURITY WHAT THEY EXPECT OF  
THE ALLIANCE AND WHAT THEY UNDERTAKE TO CONTRIBUTE TO IT; AND

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C. DEFINE THE MODALITIES OF THEIR SOLIDARITY.  
A DECLARATION BASED ON THESE THREE PRINCIPLES ON THE EVE OF THE  
25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ALLIANCE WOULD SHOW THE IMPORTANCE WHICH  
ALL THE ALLIES ATTACH TO IT, AND WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO  
DEMONSTRATE THAT IT IS NOT A VESTIGE OF THE COLD WAR BUT A PILLAR  
OF PEACE IN EUROPE AND AN INDISPENSABLE INSTRUMENT FOR  
COLLABORATION BETWEEN ALLIES. A TEXT OF THIS TYPE COULD BE  
COMPLETED WITH A VIEW TO THE PLANNED VISIT OF PRESIDENT NIXON.  
ON THIS OCCASION IT COULD ALSO BE HOPED THAT THE COMMUNITY AND  
ITS MEMBER STATES SHOULD MEET THE PRESIDENT OF THE USA AS  
AN ENTITY. THIS FIRST DIALOGUE COULD ALSO BE CLOSED BY THE ISSUE  
OF A DECLARATION."

11. HOLST'S POLITICAL-MILITARY REPORT DEALS AT SOME LENGTH  
AND IN DETAIL WITH POSSIBLE MBFR OPTIONS AND THE WESTERN  
DEFENSE POSTURE. HIS TREATMENT OF THE US TROOP ISSUE AND  
BURDENSARING APPEARS AS FOLLOWS: "TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY  
HAS RESTED ON THE READINESS AND ABILITY OF THE UNITED STATES  
TO COMMIT AND SUPPORT FORCES FOR THE DEFENSE OF WESTERN  
EUROPE. AT THE PRESENT TIME WE ARE WITNESSING HOW IMPORTANT  
SECTIONS OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL ESTABLISHMENT WANT TO REDUCE  
THE AMERICAN PRESENCE IN EUROPE. THERE IS A FEELING THAT THE  
JOB HAS BEEN DONE, THE COLD WAR IS OVER OR WANING, EUROPEANS  
OUGHT TO CARRY A LARGER SHARE OF THE BURDEN, AND THAT THE  
PRIORITIES IN TERMS OF THE COMMITMENT OF MONEY AND ATTENTION

SHOULD BE ON THE DOMESTIC PROBLEMS OF THE UNITED STATES. THE ALIENATION AND FRUSTRATION BRED BY THE WARS IN SOUTH EAST ASIA AND THE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE AND INSTITUTIONAL STRIFE BETWEEN CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT, WHICH HAS BEEN EXACERBATED BY WATERGATE, CONTRIBUTE TO THE POLITICAL TURMOIL AND REASSESSMENT. THE PREDICTABILITY OF AMERICAN DECISION-MAKING HAS BEEN REDUCED AS HAS ITS SUSCEPTIBILITY TO EUROPEAN INFLUENCE. EUROPEANS HAVE ON THE WHOLE REFUSED TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE PRESSURES THAT OPERATE OVER THE TROOPS ISSUE IN WASHINGTON. OR THEY HAVE TENDED TO VIEW US WITHDRAWALS AS A KIND OF NATURAL CATASTROPHE WHICH MAY HAPPEN SOME DAY, BUT THE OCCURRENCE AND CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH LIE BEYOND WHAT IS WITHIN THEIR POWER TO INFLUENCE. FROM A POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW IT CAN CERTAINLY BE ARGUED THAT THE PRIMARY TASK IS ONE OF FINDING A LEVEL AND FORMAT OF AMERICAN ENGAGEMENT IN THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS IN EUROPE WHICH CAN MOBILIZE BROAD BIPARTISAN

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SUPPORT IN WASHINGTON. A CONTRACTUAL ARRANGEMENT WHICH WOULD PROBABLY INVOLVE SOME REDUCTIONS COULD STABILIZE EXPECTATIONS IN REGARD TO THE AMERICAN PRESENCE AND PROVIDE A FIRM BASIS FOR EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT MUTUAL FORCE LIMITATIONS. IT SEEMS USELESS TO APPROACH THE PROBLEM FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF EQUITY, SINCE THERE IS NO WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE DETERMINED OBJECTIVELY WHAT CONSTITUTES AN EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF BURDENS AND COSTS. IT IS NECESSARY FOR THE UNITED STATES TO IDENTIFY THE BURDENS AND COSTS THEY WOULD LIKE THE EUROPEANS TO ASSUME. MANY FIGURES IN REGARD TO THE MILITARY PRESENCE IN EUROPE HAVE BEEN BRANDISHED IN THE AMERICAN DEBATE ABOUT THE TROOPS IN EUROPE. SERIOUS INTRA-ALLIANCE DISCUSSIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS ARE POSSIBLE ONLY WHEN THERE IS A CONCRETE PROPOSAL OR REQUEST ON THE TABLE. BILATERAL OFFSET AGREEMENTS COULD NOT PROVIDE LONG TERM STABILITY. WHAT IS NEEDED IS SOME SORT OF CONTRACTUAL AND MULTILATERAL AGREEMENT ABOUT BURDENSARING IN GENERAL AND THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE COSTS OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN PARTICULAR, WHICH WILL PERMIT THE ALLIANCE TO APPROACH NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST IN A CONFIDENT AND COHERENT FASHION."

12. CARSONS, IN HIS INFORMATION REPORT, RECALLS THE ATA RESOLUTION ISSUED IN ISTANBUL CALLING ON EUROPEAN NATO MEMBERS TO GIVE FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY RESEARCH, AND ADDS "WE MUST PERSIST IN OUR EFFORTS TO SEE THAT BOTH RFE AND RL CONTINUE TO CARRY OUT THEIR VERY IMPORTANT OPERATIONS".

13. EMBASSY WILL POUCH ALL CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS TO THE DEPARTMENT AND USNATO FOLLOWING THE FINALY PLENARY SESSION AND THE PUBLICATION OF ATA RESOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON SEPTEMBER 14. STRAUSSZ-HUPE



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## Message Attributes

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